/34 cont./

592 616 [171] Is it a matter of the Atlas, of its "patriarchal families" and of its leff-s? Not at all, but of the Basques (1)

1. J. Caro Baroja, Los pueblos de España /The pueblos of Spain/, Barcelona, 1946, p. 274. Cf. in Ann. hist. soc., 1951, pp. 497 sq., the review of this specialist's works. In Derecho consuetudinario y economía popular de España /Consuetudinary law and popular economy of Spain/, Barcelona, 1902, t. II, J. Costa presents a remarkable study on the different family types in the N. of Spain, pp. 234 sq. This will not be the only time that we shall refer to Spanish documentation, not with the aim of comparison, but of geographical analogy.

and of the duality that put them in opposition as onacinos and gamboinos in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. But let us leave this comparison, which is only a petty amusement. Let us interest ourselves in divining from facts and simple images the connections of the individual and the family in this part of the Atlas. 128 Let us acknowledge immediately that this chapter will not be conclusive: first, because at this place the goal is only to describe, without prejudging the economic and juridical analyses which alone permit prolonging the description in interpreting it. And also, and especially, because in the present state of the psychological studies on the Maghreb, one could claim here only to furnish some material for the investigations to come.

595 The Seksawa are monogamous. Presently among them there is not a hundredth of the individuals who have two or three spouses. Moreover, it is a matter of individuals out of the ordinary. A study pushed further might reveal among taqbilt-s instructive diversities concerning the role of polygamy, concerning nuptiality, and concerning the proportion of divorces. By and large the strength of the matrimonial bond asserts itself proportionately as /35/ one goes up the valley. But a contrast vigorous in other ways sets the

595 /35 cont./ But a contrast vigorous in other ways sets
184 Seksawa as a bloc, as well as in addition all their neighbors of
171 the Dir of Imintanout, against the Arab tribes of the plain, such
as the Ud Bessebâc, essentially polygamous. A recent study has
589 even revealed an incontestable fact in these mountains: the
frequency of celibacy. In relation to married people, and including nubile adolescents, widows, and divorced persons, there would be a third of the men single, half of the women. Nothing can be established from such figures, lacking a specialized investigation. But they should at least be noted here for the lie that they directly give to certain preconceived ideas.

562 All the Seksawa women have the storeroom keys. They de-
[343] mand them. Whoever refuses them to them sees them abandon
[712] the conjugal life, which is ridiculous and costly for the frustrated
[593] husband. Public opinion attributes this trait to a character prone to domestic disputes, but which they know how to make up for by other talents: that of sorceress, for example, or of clever champion at trials, or again, as the adage says, of nocturnal beauty capable of furnishing during the day the work of a beast of burden! Finally, she is a Tasseksiwit: and that suffices. The tribe com-
184 ments, with an amused and secretly admiring indulgence, on
343 these traits, which, it thinks, differentiate it from all its neighbors:
712 the Gedmiwa or those beyond the Tichka. For example, the Idaw
[829] Kais or the a. Tkssit, among whom, it is said, ten to fifteen foyers can live together without quarreling, or these Idaw Mh'mud where the masculine institution of the agadir /collective storehouse/ flourishes (1).

1. There is only one agadir operating among the Seksawa, that of Ikis. Remains of a ruined agadir at Iguntar. Cf. Lieut. P. Dupas, "Note sur les magasins collectifs du Haut Atlas occidental /Note on the collective storehouses of the western High Atlas/," Hesp., 1929, pp. 303 sq. A The wealth of the I. Mh'mûd in agadir-s contrasts with the quasi-absence of them among the Seksawa, where there were some perhaps, if one

A, [See 3: Dupas, this file--Analyst]

/43 cont./

621 613 VIII. The family. -- Each separate hamlet, or each part of a village, is inhabited, as we have seen, by a patriarchal and agnatic familial group to which in the Sous is given the name of "ikhs." This is the smallest unit, but also the most lively, which contributes toward forming the larger social groups in Berbère /Berber/ country.

621 592 613 [595] The "ikhs" is constituted spontaneously by the natural development of the family that lives in a detached house. Actually the Chleuh /Shluh/, almost always monogamous, especially if he is poor, lives with his sons in joint possession; his cousins are established near him. Foreigners who have come into the country as wage earners or tribal brothers marry the daughters. In three [622] or four generations /44/ a numerous and powerful group is formed, often led by an old man who is the natural leader of this new hamlet.

613 561 562 The various members of the "ikhs" are not gathered together in the course of daily existence. Each generation actually lives apart from the one that precedes it or that follows it; father and son do not take their meals together, at least in public. The men and the women, moreover, form two distinct societies, which have traditions, beliefs, a different vocabulary. The men try to [771] observe the laws of Islam; the women, on the contrary, remain attached to magical practices that are a survival of the most ancient beliefs. Even the markets are sometimes separate (1).

562 443

1. Special markets for women exist in the region of the Haha and the plain of the Chtouka.

562 [788] [543] [527] [831] Finally, during pilgrimages and annual fairs the two sexes often assemble separately. The women's festivals, on the occasion of which are found preserved licentious traditions antecedent to Islam, accentuate even more the separate organization of the two groups.

/217 cont./

*634 121 First we shall try to describe the organization of these small states in the region of the western Atlas. This organization has doubtless been partially transformed for two generations by the development of personal power. But one can still, by studying the life of the fractions remaining free up to the present in the most remote valleys, find what was formerly the political life of a large part of the mountains of the Masmouda, to which it would not have been exaggerated to give, half a century ago, the name of Kabylie du Haut-Atlas /Kabylia of the High Atlas/. Next, by comparing this region with the best known parts of the Anti-Atlas and of the Rif, it will be easy to see once again the similarity that exists between the political traditions of the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of Morocco and those of their Kabyle brothers of Algeria.

*634 621 632 /218/ I. The institutions of the "Mouda^{c}." -- The "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the Masmouda is most often formed by a group of "mouda^{c}." The "mouda^{c}" joins together several hamlets; the hamlet, several families. Each of these small units has its traditions, its customs of life in common, and, one might say, its "political constitution."

613 The family, "Ikhs" (pl. ikhsan), as we have said, is a patriarchal and agnatic group, more or less undivided, which most often includes ten or fifteen hearths. It usually suffices, in order to find again the eponymous ancestor of the Ikhs, to go back three or four generations, for, as we have seen, the renewing of the population is rapid, even in the high valleys; very frequent epidemics, exile, the struggle of soffs suffice to disperse the most vigorous groups or limit their growth.

595 In each household a rigorous monogamy is observed; in the regions at present won over by the political transformation, one hardly sees even the sheiks who have become rich marry a second wife late in life. A saying of the Gedmiwa promises the [539] greatest misfortunes to those who bring a second wife into the household: "O you who have two wives, may the grasshoppers

/218 cont./
595 eat your harvests (1)!"
[539]

1. Compare Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, Ida ou Zal, p. 18.

592 In each family -- stricto sensu -- the sons rarely leave their father, even after their marriage. Each house most often shel-
[768] ters three or four households. After their father's death, custom decrees that the brothers continue to live in joint possession as
613 long as possible. By new alliances within this primitive group, the descendants of the same ancestor come to form a small social unit, into which the outsider is admitted only after a long stay (2).

[113] 2. Compare Laoust, "Le Mariage chez les Berbères du Maroc /Marriage among the Berbers of Morocco/," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, p. 76.

[554] This group does not always have the oldest one as head; often it is the richest and most influential one who speaks in the name of his "brothers" in the assemblies whenever the honor or interests of the "Ikhs" are involved.

62 Two or three "ikhs" customarily people a hamlet, "tad-
[613] chert," but it is not rare for one of them to be preponderant and alone have the right to represent the common interests at the assembly of the "taqbilt." Often in the regions neighboring the
[423] plains and above all in the Anti-Atlas the hamlet appears to us /219/ as a small autonomous group smaller than the "mouda^{c}" but which already possesses common property: manure, pasture
[351] lands, forest. A thick hedge of jujube trees dominated by a watchtower protects against thieves. To ensure the safety of the
[625] inhabitants turns at guarding the gate are established, and there is a night watch in the "borj" /watchtower/. The hamlet then tends to organize its own life with respect to police, execution of the corvées, repression of minor offenses, and thus it absorbs part of the attributions of the "mouda^{c}."

/341 cont./

175 favorable occasion presented itself, of revolting against an often
*631 intolerable domination. One therefore will find at Tagontaft,
712 from the beginning, high towers, thick ramparts, large courtyards surrounded by stables in which the horsemen's mounts can be sheltered, large storehouses in which provisions for several months are assembled, in order to be able to withstand a long
[312] siege if necessary. An aqueduct collects water from a nearby spring and brings it up to within the walls; watch stations in the /342/ vicinity complete the defense, and if, in a period of disorder, the alarm is given, the heavy gates of the fortress will be closed in the blink of an eye, the battlements will be filled with guns, and the big bolt will be pulled from the inside on the two leaves until the danger is past.

Later the chief has new chambers added, superposed on one another without any preconceived plan, according to the neces-
• [595] sities of the moment. He ceaselessly needs new rooms for his more and more numerous wives; larger rooms for receiving transient guests, sheiks, or subjects coming from all parts of a ter-
[574] ritory always being enlarged. Although he himself lives simply, most often sleeping on a mat in a dark passage, the new kaid nevertheless has built, in order to receive guests of note fittingly, a few sumptuous rooms naïvely decorated with crude luxury, in which the desire of the Berbère /Berber/ parvenu to show off his wealth to the montagnards clearly appears.

Moreover, the fortress, planned first of all for war, soon becomes too confining and no longer suffices for the exigencies of a large command. At the edge of a watercourse, in the middle of the most fertile fields gained from the enemy, the subjects of the kaid build him a new casbah with less martial walls, with larger and more ornate rooms. Talat n Yaqoub will become the favorite residence of Si Tayeb Gontafi. Nevertheless, if war again threatens and it is necessary to find a refuge behind solid ramparts, a fortress especially intended for defense will be erected on the top of a nearby hill. Such a one is the Agadir n
[333] Gouj, near Talat n Yaqoub, which moreover has remained unfinished, but which was constructed with care, with the advice of

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*631 *634 554 Whatever may be the faithfulness of the co-operation given the kaid by his original fraction, and although he may be surrounded by numerous companions, the organization of the command remains very imperfect, and the various functions are very poorly defined. It is the kaid himself who very often superintends the distribution of the food and fodder, just as in war he thinks he is filling his role by giving cartridges to the combatants with his own hand in order to avoid excessive expense. The everyday supplies of sugar, tea, and candles, coveted by the women and slaves, are the object of special surveillance, and the bunch of keys to the storehouses where these precious commodities are locked up scarcely leaves the neck of the great kaid, master of 20 mountain tribes. Not long ago one saw Si el Madani Glawi in a corner of the courtyard of his casbah, separated from the crowd of servants and protected by a wooden grating from an ever possible evil blow, spending long hours receiving news, dictating messages, presiding over the distribution of food, and making sure with a glance through the bars that the slaves were really giving his favorite horse and mule their daily ration of barley.

*631 *634 557 595 X. The transformation of the customs. -- The political and economic revolution brought into the mountains by this new regime is completed by a no less important transformation of the family organization. In this country of strict monogamy the victorious amghar at first began to consolidate his political situation by numerous matrimonial alliances contracted with the families of minor makhzen /makhzan/ chiefs in the valley or the still-independent amghars of the high mountains. Having become kaid, possessor of sizable lands and several residences, he augments at the same time the number of his wives, whom he chooses from among the prettiest girls in the country. It is not without regret sometimes that a peasant /348/ gives his daughter to the lord; but that alliance is most often worth exemptions from taxes for him and effective protection against the mokhaznis and the caliphates. Among the chiefs, political alliances by marriage are constant, and each reconciliation is marked by a new union. The innumerable daughters of the family are exchanged like presents.

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*631 *634 • 595 [567] Soon a great chief comes to possess about a hundred wives, without counting the slaves, by whom he has numerous sons. In imitation of the master, the most comfortable sheiks take several wives, and only the crowd of subjects remains attached to the former familial regime.

*631 *634 178 Thus, the material conditions of life are profoundly disturbed in various ways, the distance between the ones governing and the governed increases more and more, and one would imagine with difficulty, if the old men were not still there to bring us their precise testimony on the recent origins of that power, about whose humble form of the first days people like so much at present to leave us ignorant, that the great chiefs of today came out of a Berbère /Berber/ mountain village 50 years ago.

*631 *634 619 178 XI. The gread kaids' policy of conquest. -- This upsetting of the economic and social life, so striking in the tribes closest to the casbahs of the great mountain kaids, is prepared by a clever job of political disorganization whose successive phases can still be observed in the more distant territories that have been successively conquered by these Berbère /Berber/ chiefs.

Here again, the proceedings are the same in the various commands, because they are inspired by the same necessities and because this action is exercised upon a homogeneous social milieu in the various parts of the South of Morocco. The activity of the great chiefs in the distant tribes represents moreover what can be called their "external policy" up to the moment when they get entangled with the government of the Empire through their intrigues.

It will be enough for us, by reason of the similarity of the rules that guide the masters of the Atlas in their relations with the tribes, to fix our attention on a small number of examples.

[[75] In the short period during which the large commands were constituted, from 1897 to 1916, one could have noticed that the efforts of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids were directed sometimes over the /349/ fertile regions of the plains, far from their casbahs, sometimes over the parts of the mountains near their original territory.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

boys, both situated in a tent at the circle's center. Among the Beraber the minor lineage is a particularly cohesive unit, with a strong *esprit de corps* and sense of common origin and destiny. The minor lineage of the Zenata is closely similar to that of the Beraber (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 312-313; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 151-152; Marcy, 1929, p. 138; Querleux, 1915, pp. 21-22; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

As among the Riffians and Shluh, Beraber marriage is usually endogamous within the minor lineage and always exogamous with respect to the extended family. The minor lineage exogamy that does occur is usually contracted for political purposes (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 151; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

Berber kinship structures, as illustrated among the Shluh, Beraber, Riffians, and Zenata, are characterized by patrilineal descent, patrilocal residence, and some degree of territorial localization of the descent group. The most widespread kin group is customarily endogamous; marriage with adopted strangers is allowed, however, and is associated with temporary matrilineal descent. In the kinship terminology (known in detail only from the Riffians) the pattern is that of Murdock's Sudanese type; the father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter being called by different terms and distinguished from sisters, parallel cousins, aunts, and nieces. Aunt and niece terms are both bifurcate collateral. Marriage is usually monogamous, but polygyny is allowed (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 136a-138; Murdock, 1949, pp. 41-64, 238-239).

The minor lineage is generally followed by, and is part of, a larger unit which we may designate as a "major lineage" or "commune". Usually not all of the lineages which constitute this larger unit are related, for the Berber kinship system is not typically a segmentary one in the sense, for example, that Nuer lineages are segmentary – a clan being composed of related maximal lineages; each of these of related major lineages; each of these of minor lineages; and each of these of minimal lineages. Above the Berber minor lineage, affiliation usually comes to be reckoned partly by kinship and partly be geographical proximity. However, some Beraber groups do give evidence of segmentation. The basic unit superior to the minor